

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181065 TOSEC 080223

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:, PFOR, UR

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV ADOPTS "STATEMAN'S , POSE IN HELSINKI

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN

1. SUMMARY: BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IS OF INTEREST IN TERMS OF THE PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING SPEECH AND SECOND BILATERAL WITH BREZHNEV. BREZHNEV PULLED HIS PUNCHES ON A NUMBER OF CSCE TOPICS AND WAS OVERALL CONCILIATORY IN HIS APPROACH. HE WILL SURELY BE ACCUSED OF HYPOCRISY BY THE WESTERN PRESS, BUT EVEN ;IS CLAIM OF "HUMANISM" CAN PERHAPS LATER BE USED TO ADVANCE WESTERN HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIET OBJECTIVES AFFIRMED. MOSCOW'S BASIC POSITIONS WERE, OF COURSE, SET FORTH, BUT IN A DIFFUSED AND SUBTLE WAY. WESTERN ACQUIESCENCE IN SOVIET POST-WORLD WAR II GAINS IN EUROPE IS SUBSUMED UNDER THE ASSERTION THAT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE WAS A "SUMMING UP OF THE POLITICAL RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE REALITIES OF TODAY. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CSCE PRINCIPLES ON RELATIONS AMONG STATES WERE GIVEN PRIORITY ATTENTION, AND SAID TO BE BASED UPON LENIN'S PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. BREZHNEV ALSO TERMED THE

DOCUMENT SIGNED A "PLATFORM" TO GUIDE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS FOR DECADES TO COME, THEREBY INDICATING THE SOVIET INTENTION TO EXPLOIT THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE "FIRST" CSCE'S RESULTS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE.

3. ATTEMPT TO ASSUAGE WESTERN CONCERNS. BREZHNEV SEEMED TO BE MAKING A STUDIED EFFORT NOT TO FEED WESTERN CRITICISM OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD RATIFY SOVIET EXPANSIONIST GAINS WHILE GIVING THE WEST LITTLE IN RETURN. THERE IS NO EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO SUCH STANDARD SOVIET THEMES AS RATIFYING THE CHANGES OF WORLD WAR II, RECOGNIZING THE STATUS QUO, OR EVEN TO THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS--MOSCOW'S PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE AT THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. BREZHNEV THE HUMANIST. HE TOOK THE OFFENSIVE ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES BY PROCLAIMING HUMANISM AS ONE OF THE INHERENT FEATURES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. HIS EXTENDED REMARKS ON THE BENEFITS TO BE ENJOYED BY INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES, YOUTH AND "DIFFERENT GROUPS" OF SOCIETY (SOVIET JEWS?) WILL RIGHTLY BE VIEWED BY WESTERN OBSERVERS AS CONTAINING A LARGE DOSE OF HYPOCRISY. BUT THEY ARE ALSO AN OBSEISANCE TO WESTERN CONCERNS TO WHICH WE CAN TRY AND HOLD HIM IN PRACTICE.

5. MBFR THE NEXT TASK. BREZHNEV'S TERMING FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE ONE OF THE PRIORITY OBJECTIVES AFTER THE HELSINKI SUMMIT ALSO APPEARED IN PART AS EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE WESTERN VIEWS.

6. NON-INTERFERENCE. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS ALSO CONTAINED A THINLY VEILED WARNING TO THE WEST AGAINST USING CSCE PRINCIPLES FOR MEDDLING IN AFFAIRS OF THE COMMUNIST STATES. HE CALLED THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS THE "MAIN CONCLUSION" OF THE CONFERENCE'S FINAL ACT. WHILE THIS POSITION IS UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED CONFIDENTIAL

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TO PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO OBSERVE BASKET III PRINCIPLES, IT CAN ALSO BE USED BY THE WEST AS A COUNTER TO THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE" SYNDROME IN SOVIET POLICIES TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE--AND PERHAPS TOWARD PORTUGAL.

7. NEGATIVE ON INFORMATION. BREZHNEV STRICTURES THAT INFORMATION MEDIA CAN BE USED TO SPREAD THE POISON OF DISCORD AS WELL AS PROMOTE PEACE WAS HIS MOST POINTED BARB AGAINST CSCE RESULTS, AND APPEARS TO LEAVE THE SOVIETS VULNERABLE TO WESTERN MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION.

8. "AGREEMENTS" IN THE FINAL ACT. A PROBLEMATIC FEATURE OF THE SPEECH IS REPEATED REFERENCES (SIX TIMES) TO

"AGREEMENT" EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT. THIS CONTRASTS  
WITH THE US VIEW ABOUT THE NON-BINDING NATURE OF THE  
DOCUMENTS, WHICH IS, HOWEVER, REFLECTED TO SOME DEGREE  
IN BREZHNEV'S REFERENCE TO "COMPROMISES" THAT REFLECT  
A "COMMON POLITICAL WILL" OF THE PARTICIPANTS. INGERSOLL

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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